1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

There appears to be some kind of spontaneous and complementary duality which is expressed in various ways, through the moieties, in economic transactions, in the reciprocity underlying all social relations, and in the complementary nature, of relations (both social and sexual) between men and women. That this duality functions so freely in Lesu may be one reason for the relatively complete integration of society there.

As a mainspring of action the desire for prestige is most important. Without prestige a man (or a woman) in Lesu is like an uninhabited house. To have prestige among his fellows, a man makes the elaborate *malanggan* rites, and for the same reason he gives elaborate feasts on all the other ritual occasions. It is the desire for prestige that makes him obey the many social taboos and rules. To be gossiped about in a derogatory manner, to have it said that one has no wealth, that one has infringed even a minor aspect of the social code, is to bring disgrace. This aversion to even what appears as trifling but degrading gossip is well illustrated in the following incident. There is much talk in the village because Tsengali's pig has broken into Murri's garden and eaten much taro. Murri displays no particular anger, and appears undisturbed, but Tsengali is very much annoyed because of all the talk that the incident has occasioned. So he announces that he is going to Kabil, where his brother lives, to get a pig and give it to Murri to stop the talk. But Murri tells him that this would be foolish, "to eat a pig for nothing," and that Tsengali should not give him the pig. Instead Murri declares that the incident is ended, and that there should be no more talk. The affair is ended. It is interesting to note that in this incident it was the transgressor who was annoyed because of the blow to his prestige and not the offended man who had suffered a loss of taro.

At the same time, these men who are so eager for prestige disparage themselves and belittle their contribu-

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

tions in the public speeches made at feasts and rites. Boasting is considered very bad taste in Lesu.

Certain general characteristics of the society help also to set the social patterns of behaviour. For instance, the society is conservative and stable. The old people are in control, and change takes place very slowly. Also, these men and women of Lesu know security in several ways. First, as it has already been pointed out, they are economically secure and have no fear of poverty or old age. Secondly, they have faith. They believe in their magic, in their spirit doubles, in the value of their rites. Heretics are absent. This very real belief gives the Melanesian the kind of security that a truly devout and unquestioning Christian has. Even the newly missionized native, as far as I could observe, is not a heretic. His Christian beliefs form a superficial and upper layer laid over his own beliefs, which are not denied. The two systems simply exist on different levels, and neither meet nor conflict.[1] Finally, the society is realistic. The education of children is to really train them for adult life. There is thus a facing of situations as they exist and an adequate preparation for them. Side by side with the realism is the highly symbolic nature of this society. In the constantly used magic a leaf, a stone, a sound, a combination of words are used as symbols for certain desired ends. Before such an undertaking as getting the sea-worm (*beta*) a game is played resembling a tug-of-war, which symbolizes the drawing in of the *beta* from the sea. Some of the dances are both dramatic and symbolic performances.

Apart from the social patterns, we have also noted individual patterns. Sometimes we have seen the individual behaving quite differently from the social pattern. This may

[1] This applies only to natives who have accepted Christianity after they were mature. The psychological effect on the very young children who are now being sent to mission schools may be very different.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

be due to the fact that he follows a family sentiment rather than a clan rule, or in other cases because he follows some whim of his own personality which does not fit in with any of the social patterns. It has been of interest to note the degree of individuality allowed in such a relatively standardized society as we find in New Ireland.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS

The question arises as to how far all the individuals participate in the institutional and social modes of behaviour. I observed how rigid is the rule of sexual division of labour, how a Melanesian girl does not make a decision on what career she will follow, but carries on the traditional feminine role of her society—marriage, gardening, cooking; how custom and tradition play such a large role in determining the native's behaviour and beliefs that, for instance, when the native lacks full confidence in his undertaking, he uses magic; how it is customary for the native to build a certain type of house; how the desire for prestige is the dominating motive in much of native conduct. At the same time, as my study became more intimate and detailed, I became increasingly aware that all the individuals were not carrying out these social patterns to the same degree. I also learned that the natives themselves were fully cognizant of this fact, and took these individual variations quite for granted. For example, one of my best and most trustworthy native informants gave me as a rule that magical knowledge is handed down in the maternal line. When I later pointed out to him that half of the magicians in the village had received their magical spell from their fathers, my native friend shrugged his shoulders a bit impatiently and said (freely translated): "But I thought you knew that there are exceptions to the rules!" He had taken it for granted that

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

182 764

course is practised only by the chief mourners and closest relatives, while everyone refrains from the dance rehearsals.

Turning to the second function—the ritual expression of emotion, we find these emotions to be, (a) sorrow over the loss of a close relative or friend, (b) sorrow due to economic loss, if the person is young, (c) fear of a ghost after the burial rites. The mourners may be classified according to the depth of their emotions. The parents, children, spouse, and close clan relatives grieve most intensely and the degree of wailing is consistent with the blood relationship of the survivor to the corpse. The exception is the spouse, who is not kin to the dead person, but is a member of the opposite moiety. Here the natural ties of affection are fully recognized, even though he is not a clan relative. But while it is appreciated that his sorrow may be deep, he is never classed with the clan relatives. His loss can be replaced, and everyone knows that after a decent interval he will take another wife. The loss of a member to the clan, however, cannot be replaced.

It is the clan relatives who bear the economic responsibility for the rites and who in so doing acquire additional prestige. This [181] society is almost completely motivated by a desire for prestige, and the acquisition of it might well be regarded as partial compensation for the loss of the dead clan relative.

The chief mourners express their sorrow in wailing, their economic loss quite openly through bad temper and conversation, and the clan mourners receive a certain amount of compensation through increasing their prestige by giving feasts, making a *malaŋgon*, etc. The chief mourners also express their grief negatively by refraining, for about a month, from two of the most common acts of their daily life, eating taro and having sexual intercourse.

The survivors who are less deeply touched by the death, *i.e.*, the rest of the community outside of the clan relatives and consort, also wail, but their wailing is not prolonged and, in Biblical phrase, is more "weeping with those that weep." Their mourning seems to be somewhat in deference to those most bereaved and to allow the feelings of these to come to the climax at a ritualistic exhibition. It is they who spare the chief mourners the duty of washing the the corpse and lowering it into the grave.

4: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

psychological effect of this will be on the birth and death rates of future generations can be, at the moment, only a matter of conjecture.

It is thus necessary to point out that while these psychological factors may be of significance in accounting for a declining population, they are not present among this particular declining people. The adult women on whom this study was made have not been to mission schools and the effect of mission teaching on them is very superficial. The fundamental aspects of their culture have not been destroyed and they have not lost their interest in life.[33]

There is one factor, mentioned by Dr. Rivers but not stressed, which might tentatively be considered as a possible cause for the decline in population, and that is the introduction of the so-called "white man's diseases." While there are no medical records for the group of people on whom this study was made, there are some fragmentary medical records for the whole Mandated Territory of New Guinea, which includes New Ireland.[34] These are based on treatments in native nospitals at the European centers and the natives are mostly indentured laborers from all over the territory. The records can be used to indicate that certain diseases exist in the Territory, some of which appear more widespread than others. It is of interest to note here those that might have any influence on infant mortality.

The reports all mention tuberculosis as being rather widespread. We are told that "tuberculosis, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases cause approximately 50 per cent of all native deaths in Rabaul," and that these diseases are new among these native races.[35] In 1926-27 tuberculosis accounted for about 32 per cent of the total deaths of natives in the series under review.[36] In 1927-28, 103 cases of tuberculosis were treated in native hospitals, and these cases had a mortality rate of 33 per cent, accounting for 13 per cent of the total mortality of hospital cases.[37] In 1928-29, 57 per cent of all the native deaths occurring in native hospitals were due to tuberculosis, pneumonia and dysentery.[38]

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[33] In the writer's forthcoming book, the life of the society as it is functioning today will be described in detail. The contact of other cultures will not be neglected and an attempt will be made to evaluate the effect of this contact.

[34] Reports to the Council of the League of Nations on Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, *Canberra*.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 17.

[36] *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 133.

[37] *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 89.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 26.